DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 357 651 FL 021 307

AUTHOR Choi, Dong-Ik
TITLE Two Causative Constructions in Korean.
PUB DATE 93
NOTE 16p.; For the serial issue in which this paper appears, see FL 021 304.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Journal Articles (080)
JOURNAL CIT Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics; v18 p45-59 1993

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Case (Grammar); *Korean; Linguistic Theory; *Morphology (Languages); Structural Analysis (Linguistics); *Syntax; Uncommonly Taught Languages; Verbs
IDENTIFIERS *Causatives (Grammar)

ABSTRACT

Two types of causative constructions in Korean behave differently both syntactically and semantically. This paper presents the syntactic differences between syntactic causative constructions and morphological causative constructions in terms of merger process of argument structures, and in the Case assignment in the two constructions in terms of the Case transmission mechanism. (Contains 8 references.) (Author)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
S Manuel
Dupont
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ED357651

TWO CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN KOREAN

Dong-Ik Choi

Abstract: Two types of causative constructions in Korean behave differently both syntactically and semantically. This paper presents the syntactic differences between syntactic causative constructions and morphological causative constructions in terms of merger process of argument structures, and the Case assignment in the two constructions in terms of Case transmission mechanism.

There are two types of causative constructions in Korean. One is a syntactic or periphrastic causative construction which is formed by adding a causative verb to the root verb. The other is a morphological causative construction which is built up by attaching a causative morpheme to the root verb. These two constructions are different from each other in many ways.

In this article, I will propose that the differences between syntactic and morphological causative constructions in Korean are due to the different argument structures of the complex verbs in the two constructions, mainly focusing on syntactic differences. In syntactic causatives, the argument structure of a root verb and that of a causative verb are partially collapsed into one. In morphological causatives, on the other hand, the argument structure of a root verb and that of a causative verb are completely collapsed into one. Therefore, syntactic causative constructions express two-event causative situations and can have biclausal properties, whereas morphological causative constructions express one-event situations and can only have monoclausal properties.

And then I will show how Case assignment is made in the two different causative constructions. Baker(1988)'s approach and Rosen(1992)'s approach will be compared. Baker's approach is characterized by "Verb Incorporation" and "The Government Transparency Corollary". Rosen's approach is characterized by "Case transmission mechanism".

This article will be organized as follows. First, the differences between the two causative constructions will be introduced. The first four are concerned with syntactic

Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics, Volume 18, 1993, pp. 45-59

differences and the latter three are concerned with semantic differences. Secondly, the process of causativization will be dealt with in terms of argument structure merger. Thirdly, the Case assignment mechanisms will be examined. Finally, some concluding remarks will be made.

I. Differences between the Two Causative Constructions in Korean

The two causative constructions in Korean show differences in the following aspects.

1. Time & Place Adverbial Modification

The two causative constructions show differences in interpretation when they contain time or place adverbials.

(1) a. John-eun Bill-eul ilyoil-e cukke-ha-etta.
John-TM Bill-AM Sunday-on die-make-PAST
'John caused Bill to die on Sunday.'
-Syntactic causative-

b. John-eun Bill-eul ilyoil-e cuk-i-eotta.
John-TM Bill-AM Sunday-on die-cause-PAST
'John killed Bill on Sunday.'
-Morphological causative-

N.B. AM: Accusative Marker
DM: Dative Marker
NM: Nominative Marker
TM: Topic Marker
PAST: Past tense & Declarative Marker

(2) a. John-eun Bill-eul keu pang-eseo cukke-ha-etta.
John-TM Bill-AM the room-in die-make-PAST
'John caused Bill to die in the room.'
-Syntactic causative-

b. John-eun Bill-eul keu pang-eseo cuk-i-eotta.
John-TM Bill-AM the room-in die-cause-PAST
'John killed Bill in the room.'
-Morphological causative-

As Shibatani(1976:15) points out, (1a) and (2a) are ambiguous

between (a) both the causing event and the caused event occurred on 'Sunday' or 'in the room', and (b) only the caused event, i.e., 'Bill's dying' occurred on 'Sunday' or 'in the room'. Sentences (1b) and (2b), on the other hand, are not ambiguous. They only state that whole causative situations occurred on 'Sunday' or 'in the room'.

2. Reflexivization

In a syntactic causative construction, the causee as well as the subject of a matrix clause can function as an antecedent for an anaphor, while in a morphological causative construction, only the subject of a matrix clause can function as an antecedent.

(3) a. John$_i$-eun Mary$_j$-eke caki$_{i/j}$ cip-eseo chaek-eul il-keha-etta.
John -TM Mary -DM self house-in book-AM read-make-PAST
'John made Mary read books in his/her house.'
-Syntactic causative-

b. John$_i$-eun Mary$_j$-eke caki$_{i/*j}$ cip-eseo chaek-eul ilk-hi-eotta.
John -TM Mary -DM self house-in book-AM read-cause-PAST
'John made Mary read books in his house.'
-Morphological causative-

In (3a), caki is correferenced with the matrix subject John or the causee Mary, while in (3b), caki can only be correferenced with the matrix subject John. This correference shows that a syntactic causative construction is biclausal in that the causee Mary in a syntactic causative also functions as a subject, if we accept Yang(1983:184)'s argument that Korean caki like Japanese reflexive zibun has a subject-control property meaning that it takes a subject as its antecedent, Meahwhile, a morphological causative construction is monoclausal in that only the matrix subject John functions as a subject.

3. Conjoined Proform

In a syntactic causative construction, the causee as well as the subject of a matrix clause can be used in an adjoined do-so formation. In contrast, only the matrix subject of a morphological causative construction can be used in a do-so proform which is conjoined to the causative construction.

(4) a. John-eun Mary-leul cukke-ha-etta, keureonde {keu / keunyeo / he / she} -ka -NM
John-TM Mary-AM die-make-PAST and

keureoke haettaneun keot-i na-leul nollakehaetta.
so did that-NM I-AM surprised

'John caused Mary to die, and it surprised me that {he / she} did so.'
-Syntactic causative-

b. John-eun Mary-leul cuk-i-eotta, keureonde {keu / keunyeo / he / she} -ka -NM
John-TM Mary-AM die-cause-PAST and

keureoke haettaneun keot-i na-leul nollakehaetta.
so did that-NM I-AM surprised

'John killed Mary, and it surprised me that {he did so.' / *she did so.}
-Morphological causative-

As Fordor(1970:431) notices, cukkehata 'cause to die' in (4a) provides two antecedents, x causes y to die and y dies, for the do-so rule. Cukita 'kill' in (4b), on the other hand, provides only one antecedent x kills y.

4. Negation

The two causative constructions show a difference in the occurrence of a negative element.

(5) a. John-eun Mary-eke chaek-eul ilci-an ke-ha-etta.
John-TM Mary-DM book-AM read-not-make-PAST
'John made Mary not read a book.'
-Syntactic causative-

b.*John-eun Mary-eke chaek-eul ilci-an-hi-eotta.
John-TM Mary-DM book-AM read-not-cause-PAST
'John made Mary not read a book.'
-Morphological causative-

In a syntactic causative construction (5a), a negative element an 'not' can occur between the root verb and the causative verb. In a morphological causative construction (5b), an 'not' is not allowed in that position.

5. Cooccurrence with Certain Adverbs or Predicates

The causee in a syntactic causative construction in Korean can occur with an adverb like seuseuro 'voluntarily', while the causee in a morphological causative construction cannot.

(6) a. Na-neun keu ai-leul seuseuro keotke-ha-etta.
I -TM the child-AM voluntarily walk-make-PAST
'I made the child walk voluntarily.'
-Syntactic causative-

b.*Na-neun keu ai-leul seuseuro keol-li-eotta.
I -TM the child-AM voluntarily walk-cause-PAST
'I made the child walk voluntarily.'
-Morphological causative-

Zubizarreta(1985:248) argues that adverbs like 'voluntarily' can only modify agentive verbs. That can be interpreted as meaning that only arguments whose θ-role is AGENT can occur with adverbs like 'voluntarily'. Therefore, the reason why seuseuro 'voluntarily' can occur in (6a), but not in (6b) is that only the causee ai 'child' in (6a) has the AGENT θ-role.

Second, the causee in a morphological causative construction cannot occur with a predicate like hwiparameul pulmyeonseo 'whistling', which means the causee cannot be correlated with such a predicate as requires an agent to associate with.

(7)a.Na-neun [hwiparam-eul pulmyeonseo$_i$] keu ai$_i$-leul keotke-ha-etta.
I -TM whistling the child-AM walk-make-PAST
'I made the child walk, whistling.'
-Syntactic causative-

b.*Na-neun [hwiparam-eul pulmyeonseo$_i$] keu ai$_i$-leul keol-li-eotta.
I -TM whistling the child-AM walk-cause-PAST
'I made the child walk, whistling.'
-Morphological causative-

'Whistle' is a predicate which takes one AGENT argument. The structure of the bracketed phrase is [PRO whistling], in which PRO is controlled by an AGENT argument. 'Whistling' can occur with the causee ai 'child' in (7a), but not in (7b) since only the causee in a syntactic causative construction like (7a) has an AGENT θ-role.

As was seen above, certain adverbs or predicates which require arguments with AGENT θ-roles can only occur in a syntactic causative construction, because the causee of the syntactic causative construction has an AGENT θ-role while the causee of the morphological one does not.

6. Entailment of the Action Denoted by the Root Verb

A syntactic causative construction does not necessarily imply the achievement of the action of the root verb, while a morphological causative construction does.

(8) a. Na-neun keu ai-leul keotke-ha-etta keuleona keu-neun
I -TM the child-AM walk-made-PAST but he-TM
'I made the child walk but he'

keotci anatta.
walk didn't
'didn't walk.'

-Syntactic causative-

b.*Na-neun keu ai-leul keol-li-eotta keuleona keu-neun
I -TM the child-AM walk-cause-PAST but he-TM
'I made the child walk but he'

keotci anatta.
walk didn't
'didn't walk.'

-Morphological causative-

In (8a), the caused event 'walking' did not occur, while in (8b), the caused event did occur. The unacceptability of (8b) results from the fact that in a morphological causative construction, the caused event never fails to occur and, nevertheless, the occurrence of the caused event is contradicted by the use of keuleona 'but'. This aspect of a morphological causative construction shows that the act of causation entails the action denoted by the embedded verb of the morphological causative construction.

7. Manipulativeness vs. Directiveness

In a syntactic causative construction, the causee should be animate while in a morphological causative construction, the causee can be either animate or unanimate.

(9) a.*Na-neun cim-eul naelike-ha-etta
I -TM package-AM come down-make-PAST
'I caused the package to come down.'
-Syntactic causative-

b. Na-neun cim-eul naeli-eotta
I -TM package-AM bring down-PAST
'I brought the package down.'
-Morphological causative-

According to Shibatani(1976:33-34), the ungrammaticality of (9a) is due to the property of directiveness of the syntactic causativization which requires an animate causee. The morphological causative construction, on the other hand, expresses manipulative causation which does not necessarily require an animate causee as in (9b).

II. The Argument Structures in Two Causative Constructions

Rosen(1990) deals with a causative construction in terms of a 'merger' process. Merger is a process whereby a complete argument structure of a root verb replaces the event argument in a causative verb's argument structure. According to her(1990;22), there are two different types of merger possible: partial and complete, in the causative construction. The difference between partial merger and complete merger is that in partial merger the argument structure of a root verb is not completely collapsed into that of a causative verb, but has internal structure of its own, while in complete merger the argument structure of a root verb is completely collapsed. Therefore, partial merger shows the characteristics of a monoclausal structure and simultaneously a biclausal structure, whereas complete merger only shows those of a monoclausal structure.

Rosen(1990:20-21) illustrates the biclausal characteristics of partial merger, comparing the causative constructions of French and Spanish with those of Italian.

(10) a. French:
*Ces passages ont été faits lire (à/par Jean).
'These passages were made to read (to/by Jean).'

b. Spanish:
*Esos pasajes fueron hechos leer (a/por Juan).
'These passages were made to read (to/by Juan).'

c. Italian:
Quei brani furono fatti leggere (a/da Giovanni).
'These passages were made to read (to/by Giovanni).'

(11) a. French:
J'ai fait se_i raser Pierre$_i$.
'I made Pierre shave himself.'

b. Spanish:
Hice afeitarse_i a Pedro$_i$.
'I made Pedro shave himself.'

c. Italian:
*Mario ha fatto accusarsi_i Piero$_i$.
'Mario made Piero accuse himself.'

As (10a) and (10b) show, passivization across the two verbs is impossible in French and Spanish but it is possible in Italian, as in (10c). Considering that passive is local in nature as Zubizarreta(1985:284) points out, the impossibility of passivization is due to the biclausal property of French and Spanish causative constructions. In French and Spanish, the reflexive clitic can attach to the root verb and bind the embedded subject as in (11a) and (11b) but it is not possible in Italian as in (11c). The possibility of reflexivization indicates that a causative construction in French and Spanish is not a monoclause. Based on Rosen(1990:20-21), the argument structures in the partial merger and in the complete merger can be compared as follows.

(12) a. Partial Merger

V1 ('make') [w (x)]	⟶	V1 V2	[w [y (z)]]
V2 [Y (z)]			

b. Complete Merger

V1 ('make') [w (x)]	⟶	V1 V2	[w (y (z))]
V2 [y (z)]			

The brackets [ ] refer to a complete argument structure, the

domain in which an external argument may exist.
V1 indicates a causative verb or morpheme. And V2 indicates a transitive root verb.

The syntactic differences between the two causative constructions in Korean which are examined in 1-4 of the section I show that the syntactic causative construction in Korean undergoes partial merger, while the morphological causative construction undergoes complete merger. The process of syntactic causativization and the argument structures of a syntactic causative construction can be represented as in (13). This pertains to the complex verb ilkke hata 'make read'.

(13) Partial Merger

hata 'make' [w (x)] ⟶ ilkke hata [w [y (z)]]

ilkta 'read' [y (z)]

On the other hand, (14) is related to the complex verb ilkhita as an example of morphological causativization.

(14) Complete Merger

-hi- 'cause' [w (x)] ⟶ ilkhita [w (y (z))]

ilkta 'read' [y (z)]

III. Case Assignment in Two Causative Constructions

The Case assignment mechanism in a causative construction has been developed in Baker(1988) and Rosen(1990,1992). First of all, their mechanisms show differences in the structure in which Cases are assigned. Baker places the complement of a complex verb under a CP node, while Rosen places it under a VP node.

In this section, I will examine the structures of causative constructions in terms of Case assignment.
First, consider the Case assignment in a syntactic causative construction, especially in the sentence (15).

(15) John-eun Mary-eke chaek-eul ilkke-ha-etta.
John-TM Mary-DM book-AM read-make-PAST
'John made Mary read a book.'
-Syntactic causative-

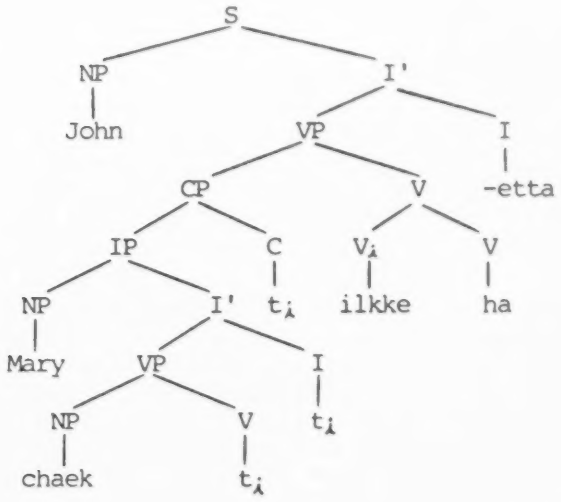
Baker(1988:147) regards causatives as an instance of Verb Incorporation whereby a complex verb derives from two verbs. In Verb Incorporation, Move-α applies to a lexical category V, not a maximal projection VP. Baker(1988:64) introduces the "Government Transparency Corollary" which is crucial in explaining the Case assignment in Verb Incorporation, as in (16).

(16) The Government Transparency Corollary
A lexical category which has an item incorporated into it governs everything which the incorporated item governed in its original structural position.

By (16), a complex verb, a compound of a root verb and its causative verb, will govern all NPs that the items governed in their base positions. Since Case assignment is made under government, the complex verb will assign Cases to the NPs. In this situation, directed strict adjacency will not be a requirement.

According to Baker(1988:185), the S-structure of (15) is as follows.

(17)



By "the Government Transparency Corollary", the complex verb ilkke ha 'make read' governs two NPs Mary, and chaek 'book'. Therefore, it can assign Cases to the two NPs. Because of the Case parameter in Korean, the lower NP chaek is assigned accusative Case and the higher NP Mary is assigned dative Case.

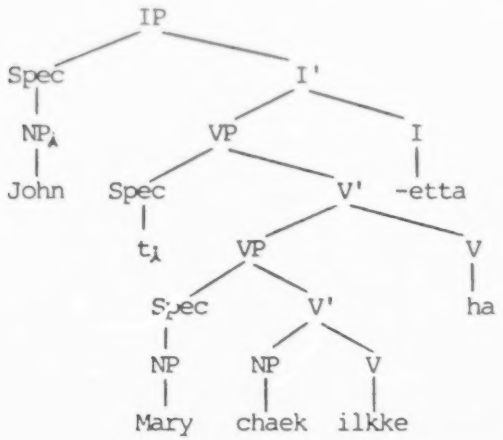
Rosen(1992:96) proposes a "Case Transmission" mechanism for explaining the Case assignment to the causee, that is, the subject argument inside the VP. The Case transmission mechanism can be represented in (18).

(18) Case transmission in the causative construction
The causative verb has a Case to assign, but its VP complement cannot bear Case. Therefore, the Case is transmitted down from the VP to its head V. The V then Case-marks its arguments within its own maximal projection.

Through the mechanism, the subject argument inside the VP is assigned dative Case or accusative Case depending upon the transitivity of the main verb to which the Case feature is transferred down by the causative verb. The analysis assumes that the adjacency requirement does not hold for dative Case.

According to Rosen(1990:178), the S-structure of (15) is as follows. (This representation assumes that the subject is base-generated in the Spec of VP position, and subsequently moves to Spec of IP.)

(19)



In this structure, the verb ilkke 'read' has two Cases to assign. One is the Case of the verb's own, the other is the Case whose feature is transferred to the verb ilkke from the causative verb ha 'make'. The lower NP chaek 'book' which is adjacent to the verb receives accusative Case. The higher NP Mary which is not adjacent to the verb receives dative Case.

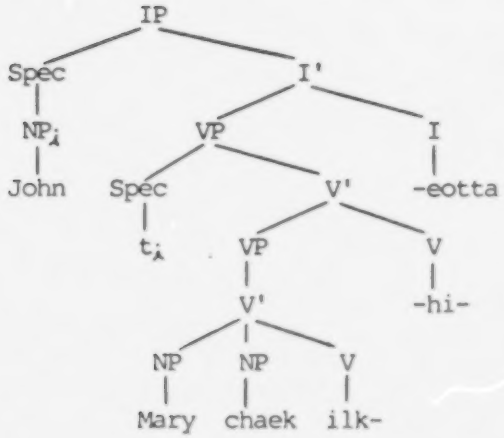
So far, it seems that the two Case assignment mechanisms explain the Case assignment in the syntactic causative construction equally well. However, these two approaches face a difficulty in explaining Case assignment in a morphological causative construction. Let's consider an example (20).

(20) John-eun Mary-eke chek-eul ilk-hi-eotta.
John-TM Mary-DM book-AM read-cause-PAST
'John made Mary read a book.'
-Morphological causative-

Neither Baker nor Rosen deals with the Case assignment in the morphological causative construction under consideration in this article. Because of its specific properties such as complete merger of argument structures and the fact that it is monoclausal, the structure of the morphological causative construction must differ from that of the syntactic causative construction. The complement of the causative verb in a morphological causative construction can not be a VP whose Specifier position is filled with an NP, as in Rosen. If it is regarded as such, it can be a governing category for anaphors since the governing category is a "Complete Functional Complex" in the sense that all grammatical functions compatible with its head are realized in it, according to Chomsky(1986;169). But there is no evidence for that as (3b) in the section I indicates.

The causee NP of a morphological causative construction should be inside VP, of course, but not in Spec of VP. In this analysis, there is no CP or IP, accordingly no C or I. So V-to-C movement in Baker's Verb Incorporation is not available. Rosen's approach, however, can explain the Case assignment in the morphological causative construction, if it is slightly revised to allow the causee NP to be in NP position inside V' as well as in NP position in Spec of VP. The S-structure of (20) can be represented as in (21).

(21)



This structure (21) is different from the structure (19) in that there is no Spec of VP. By the Case transmission mechanism, the first NP Mary which is not adjacent to the verb ilk- 'read' receives dative Case from the verb which gets additional Case feature from the causative element. The second NP chaek 'book' adjacent to the verb receives accusative Case from the verb.

Until now, Case assignment in causative constructions has been dealt with. Between the Case assignment mechanisms of Baker's and Rosen's, Rosen's mechanism is considered more adequate. Rosen's mechanism, however, needs a slight revision. To explain the Case assignment in a morphological causative construction, the causee should be regarded as being located inside VP, as an internal argument.

4. Conclusion

As was seen, two causative constructions in Korean are different from each other in various aspects. They reveal differences in the aspects of time & place adverbial modification, reflexivization, conjoined proform, negation, cooccurrence with certain adverbs or predicates, entailment of the action denoted by the root verb, and manipulativeness vs. directiveness. The first four aspects are regarded as syntactic ones in that they are mainly related to the distributions of the lexical items or phrases. And the latter three are regarded as semantic ones in that they are mainly concerned with thematic roles of the arguments. The fundamental difference between the two causative constructions is whether the causative construction in question specifies one event or not. A syntactic causative construction specifies two

events, unlike a morphological causative construction.

This difference can be explained by the speculation that the two causative constructions have complex verbs with different argument structures. A syntactic causative construction, as a yield of partial merger, does not necessarily represent one event. In contrast, a morphological causative construction which has undergone complete merger can only represent one event.

As for Case assignment, Rosen(1992)'s mechanism is found to be more adequate than Baker(1988)'s mechanism. In Rosen(1992)'s Case transmission mechanism, the causee is assigned structural Case by the root verb to which Case features of the causative verb are transmitted. But Rosen's approach needs revising in order to explain the Case assignment in a morphological causative construction. Unlike Rosen(1990)'s proposal of the causee NP in Spec of VP, the causee should be analyzed to be in an internal argument position inside VP, in a morphological causative construction in Korean.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank Prof. Sara Thomas Rosen for her insightful and invaluable comments on various versions of this paper. I would also like to thank Joong-Sun Sohn and In Lee for their valuable comments and help.

REFERENCES

Baker, M. C. 1988. Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chomsky, N. 1986. Knowledge of Language. New York: Praeger.

Fodor, J. C. 1970. Three reasons for not deriving "kill" from "cause to die" Linguistic Inquiry, 1, 429-438.

Rosen, S. T. 1989. Argument Structure and Complex Predicates. Doctoral Dissertation, Brandeis University (reprinted by Garland Press, New York, 1990).

Rosen, S. T. 1992. The Case of subjects in the Romance causatives. Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics, 17.1, 79-113.

Shibatani, M. 1976. The grammar of causative constructions: A Conspectus. In M. Shibatani, ed., Syntax and Semantics. Vol. 6: The grammar of causative constructions. New York: Academic Press.

Yang, D. W. 1983. The extended binding theory of anaphors. Language Research 19, 169-192.

Zubizarreta, M.L. 1985. The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax: The case of Romance causatives. Linguistic Inquiry, 16.2, 247-289.